advertising in Australia was much more reluctant to adopt this sales pitch. There is nothing comparable to the Lucky Strike campaign in the Australian advertising concerning women. There was indeed a greater reluctance to target women explicitly in the promotional campaigns of the Australian tobacco industry.

It must also be remembered that the great majority of the Australian ads, even for tailor made cigarettes, were directed at men throughout the period. And not just men, but older men who had served in the war and were ill-at-ease with the new morals of the 1920s. This strategy may have been an attempt to wean these men from pipes, but more likely was intended to reinforce a choice already made under war-time conditions. Said one ad: "Charles" was "simply hopeless at the Charleston. Henry is aggravatingly good at it. So Charles frequently has to entertain himself, while his one and only Joan executes four Charlestons running . . . with the fatuous Henry." Fortunately, Charles has Army Club. He declares that "he wouldn't mind being a hermit for life as long as he had a continuous supply of 'Army club'." If Army Club ads focused on the nostalgia of war-time camaraderie and male culture, De Reszkes presented the suave and sophisticated male dressed in dinner suit. The makers of this Virginia cigarette were "proud of their fine-grained paper, proud of the aristocratic and dignified packets in which they are so lovingly packed." But De Reszkes could also use the military theme. In 1937, this "Aristocrat of Cigarettes" was associated with a picture of a Royal Navy Battleship and the ad stated: "As Supplied to His Majesty's Navy."[473] In a more historically-minded version of the same theme, Capstan's advertised their product with a picture of Lord Horatio Nelson. Further comparative analysis of advertising could shed light on this issue, but judging from the limited number of American ads presented in secondary texts, military images, especially of officers, were not common.[474]

d. Explaining the Distinctive Patterns in Australian Advertising

Why were there these differences in advertising compared to the American case? One reason was an entrenched masculinism and conservatism in the local tobacco trade. This was prominent at the retail level, but it also surfaced in advertising. The aspect of masculinism made the trade resistant to the innovative marketing campaigns of the Americans. A large number of the ads in the 1920s still reflected the view that tobacco was a product for men. State Express 333's for example, played upon the themes of misogyny and masculine humour,[475] as did Army Club with themes like the perils of shaving that could be relieved by the

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were it not for the messages in the printed media and on the radio." (p. 104); see also *Time*, 30 November 1987, p. 54.

[473] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 May 1937, p. 7; 2 May 1937.

[474] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 July 1927. See the example of an enlisted man advertising cigarettes in Burnham, *Bad Habits*, p. 98; on American advertising in the 1920s more generally, see Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*.

[475] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 May 1927.

Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/zqhl0000

smoking of a consoling cigarette.[476] The ads for pipe tobacco, however, showed this conservatism most tellingly. Private Seal featured a man who stated: "And so I shan't be getting married!. After finding the girl and pricing the ring, an' everything! The trouble is, I've found I mustn't smoke. . . . And I was only getting married so I could have a nice quiet smoke by my own fireside."[477]

The *N.S.W. Hairdresser and Tobacconist* observed in 1927 that "cigarette manufacturers, until very recently, have not dared to brook the prejudice against smoking by women," and feared lest the trade should "unbalance itself" by encouraging women's smoking too much, so that they became too important a part of the cigarette market.[478] The retail segment of the industry feared that these female customers would not be dependable; they might be fickle in their tastes, or buy their cigarettes elsewhere from grocers, newsagents, fruit shops, department stores, theatres or vending machines. One part of the Australian retail tobacco trade which reflected clearly these patterns of entrenched masculine prejudiced was the institution of the male hairdresser, where men gathered to talk sport on a Saturday morning, and where they could and did buy a significant proportion of their tobacco supplies as late as the 1950s. "In every city, every suburb and in every country town, men's hairdressing establishments . . . sell tobacco." a British observer noted in the early 1950s. "This type of retail outlet is of great importance to the trade in Australia, whereas in the United Kingdom and the United States it is unusual . . ."[479]

The tobacconists and male hairdressers also looked with suspicion on mass advertising; they regarded their business as more than the selling of some advertised product. An item in the *N.S.W. Hairdresser and Tobacconist* in 1927 lamented the coming domination of advertising: "A retail tobacconist was in trade for a bigger purpose than merely to hand over the counter advertised goods; he was there to increase his individual business" through "personal service". Tobacconists should seek, rather, to educate the customer in the finer detail of tobacco products.[480] An example was how to blend tobacco for a pipe. Tobacconists were, however, fighting a losing battle. By the late 1930s, they were clearly losing a large part of their trade and were diminishing in numbers as more and more people turned to cigarettes.[481]

Beyond the masculinist culture of the trade, a broader reason for the difference in advertising was a distaste for American standards of advertising. This sentiment can be seen in the Australian advertising press. Advertising executives tended to be pro-British and resistant to

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476 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 May 1927, p. 7.
477 *To-Day*, 1 January 1934, p. 2.
478 *N.S.W. Hairdresser and Tobacconist*, 31 October 1927, p. 15.
479 *Australian Tobacco Annual, 1953-54*, p. 9.
480 *N.S.W. Hairdresser and Tobacconist*, 30 July 1927, p. 9.
481 "Going Up in Smoke: Trying to blend your Own Tobacco," *Man Junior*, April 1939, pp. 21-24.

Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/zqhl0000

Americanisation. The Lucky Strike campaign in the United States, for example, came under attack in Australia as an example of excessive and perhaps counter-productive advertising. *Newspaper News* commissioned Arthur O. Richardson of Messrs Samson Clark, to survey American advertising. He drew attention, with great distaste, to the "violently aggressive" campaigns for Lucky Strikes and other American tobacco products. In these campaigns, "the ethics of advertising were torn to tatters," according to Richardson.[482] *Newspaper News* later reported triumphantly when, in 1930, the Federal Trade Commission issued a "cease and desist" order against advertising which promised "slim figures" from the consumption of cigarettes.[483]

Another consideration was the differing patterns of consumption. As Beverley Kingston has pointed out in her study of women's shopping in Australia, "only a rich, smart set followed the American fashions for cars, cocktails and nightlife seriously. . . Australian society for the most part was insular, petty bourgeois, and British in orientation." Kingston concludes that there was "limited demand for the consumer revolution." This came to Australia slowly, and in fact did not arrive properly until the 1950s.[484]

This is one reason why the number of ads were relatively low, and why the content was often subdued as well. A comparison with advertising in the high-class journals like the *Australian Home* confirms this point. There, where the money was available to purchase, the ads for cigarettes were more prevalent and more likely to include women. Ardath Deluxe was, proclaimed the ads in the *Australian Home*, "Society's cigarette."[485] A number of the ads in the *Herald* in the 1930s also appealed to a luxury market that included high status women. Ardath blend, for example, were "the very last word in luxurious smoking." [486] Even Craven A, the cigarette that "will not affect your throat" was also marketed as "the very highest form of smoking luxury."[487] In every media, tailor-made cigarettes appealed in this way. In contrast with the United States, these products could not and were not intended to sway the mass market for tobacco.

Another possible reason for the failure to market tailor-made cigarettes on a mass scale was the near monopoly position of the British Tobacco Company over the period under study; this company controlled about 81 percent of the cigarette market in the 1920s, and according to R.B. Walker, "probably an even higher share of the market for manufactured tobacco."[488] Its only significant competition came from the English firm of Carreras, which made Craven A in Australia in the 1930s. That company

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[482] *Newspaper News*, 1 February 1930, p. 10.
[483] Ibid., 1 May 1930, p. 5.
[484] Beverley Kingston, *Basket, Bag and Trolley: A History of Shopping in Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 53.
[485] *The Home*, 1 April 1936.
[486] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 May 1937, p. 31.
[487] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 May 1932.
[488] Walker, *Under Fire*, p. 57.

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gained about 30 percent of the cigarette market in that decade, but had its Australian operations bought out by British Tobacco in 1940. After 1940, the impact of rationing made advertising largely redundant, since the companies could not supply the market in any case. In 1947, an average of just two ads a month appeared in the *Herald*, down from twelve in the 1930s. American dailies included up to five or six ads in each issue.[489] The absence of the severe competition between several large manufacturers as existed in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s meant that in Australia there was less need for hard sell campaigns.[490] Whereas the three major American tobacco companies led the stakes in advertising, in Australia, the major producers figured highly, but not quite so highly. In the dailies, Wills/British Tobacco ranked as second largest advertiser; Carreras was fifth, and Godfrey Phillips was eighth in figures available for 1936.[491] In the US, Liggett and Myers, R.J. Reynolds, and American Tobacco appear to be number one, three and four in the top ten advertisers, and were especially dominant in daily newspaper advertising.[492]

The structure of tobacco consumption also reduced the need for cigarette advertising at the same time as it undermined the efficacy of that advertising. As has already been stated, cigarettes were a high value added product aimed essentially at the luxury market. In the 1930s, the consumption of tailor-made cigarettes actually dropped, despite advertising, as more and more people took to roll-your-owns. The advertising of the tailor-made product shifted in the early 1930s to emphasise economy as a means of countering the flow away from cigarettes, but without much success before 1937. Indirectly, this benefited British Tobacco more than Carreras or other small manufacturers and importers, since the British Tobacco company controlled more of the loose tobacco market and made profits from the sale of cut tobacco just as they did from cigarettes. Expensive cigarette advertising was only a part of their large business. Advertising for cut tobacco products for pipe and roll-your-own was absent in the *Herald*, and almost totally absent in the weeklies surveyed that were likely to have a male audience, such as *Australian Sporting and Dramatic News*, for 1930, *Smith's Weekly* for 1930, and *Man*, 1936-39. So we have the anomaly of a product advertised which did not sell in the early 1930s, and another unadvertised in the media, which did sell. Clearly consumers made their own choices about which tobacco products they wanted, for a variety of reasons to do with economy, habit, and group pressures.

Pipe and roll-your-own products were sold in a different way from tailor mades which defied the logic of national advertising trends. The former were "advertised" through tobacconists' windows. In the pre-world War One period, these had been very elaborate. Cameo Cigarettes of the American Tobacco Company sponsored a competition in Melbourne in

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489 Burnham, *Bad Habits*, p. 326, note 16.
490 Walker, *Under Fire*, pp. 62-63.
491 *Newspaper News*, 1 September 1936, p. 16.
492 *Newspaper News*, 1 December 1936, p. 23.

Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/zqhl0000

which shops vied for the best display made from the boxes of tobacco products. The prize entries included a working model of a quartz crushing battery ("a source of instruction to residents in a country, dependent to a large extent on the gold industry"), a model of Melbourne Town Hall, and a miniature of the proposed Flinders St. Railway Station.[493] The historian G.V. Portus recalled the tobacconists' shops from his own youth in that period: "The advertisements scattered through the windows of the tobacconists did not play so much on the hygiene complex as they do now. We were not implored [in the 1890s] to smoke Blank's because they did not harm the throat . . . . In those days the appeal was aesthetic. We were urged to purchase by means of pictures of beautiful ladies, faultlessly if scantily dressed, and with impossibly long legs. Or else, appealing to the snob in all of us . . [that] the *elite* smoked this, that, or the other brand."[494] Portus emphasised also the exotic feel of the places and scenes in the ads. Apart from the windrow dressing, the sale of pipe and roll-your-own products operated chiefly by word of mouth, especially the word of the tobacconist and the hairdresser.[495] The point however is not the existence or non-existence of advertising, but the connection between the tobacco trade and the culture of smoking, particularly the masculine culture surrounding the tobacconist and hairdresser's shop.

PART 4: THE SMOKING CULTURE

This section looks at alternative explanations to the role of media in shaping smoking behaviour. I invoke the idea of a "smoking culture" in which complex patterns of race, gender and class determine what people have done in the way of smoking. Modern survey literature on smoking behaviour tells us that smoking serves a variety of psychological and physiological functions.[496] Most of these authorities distinguish between the reasons for taking up smoking and those maintaining it. While these factors are important for individual decision-making, Historical evidence on Australian smoking patterns makes it difficult to maintain this distinction when analysing social groups over long periods of time. Social and cultural factors seemed to have been more important than psychological ones; thus the role of inherited tradition of smoking among potential smokers has been neglected in the survey literature which is highly present-centred. People learn to smoke as part of a process of socialising into groups, into adulthood and into male bonding groups in particular, but also into ethnic groups. These aspects go to make up the

493 "'Cameo Window Dressing Competition," *Australian Wine, Spirit & Tobacco News*, 17 October 1898, p. 39.
494 G.V. Portus, *Happy Highways* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1953), p. 43.
495 "Going Up in Smoke," pp. 21-24.
496 See some of the early research in "Why Do People Smoke?" *Tobacco Trade Journal*, April 1953, p. 218; *Retail Tobacconist*, September 1945, p. 23; for a more extended survey, see Robert D. Tollison, *Smoking and Society* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1985), pp. 89-134.

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smoking culture, and while there are powerful forces such as habit and addiction affecting smoking behaviour, it is my hypothesis, based on the pattern of historical evidence, that these social groups perpetuate their own learned smoking behaviour and have transmitted it over time. What has altered smoking behaviour historically is less the media than the role of broad social changes like industrialisation, urbanisation, war, and women's work. The concept of "masculinisation" extensively used in Australian history and gender studies is, along with ethnic differentiation, one of the most important parts of any such analysis of Australian smoking patterns from the 1890s to the 1950s.[497]

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a. Pipes, Cigarettes and Masculine Culture

As a starting point, it must be reiterated that tobacco advertising in Australia was heavily concentrated on tailor made cigarettes at a time when those products made up only one-quarter of the tobacco trade. Despite the efforts of Carreras in the 1930s and other importers of high quality cigarettes in the 1920s and despite advertising by Wills, cigarette sales increased only marginally in the 1920s on a per capita basis, and slipped back in the 1930s. Other tobacco products gained during the great depression, at the expense of the advertised product. In particular, the roll-your-own cigarette emerged as a large part of the market. *The Official Year Book of New South Wales, 1936-37* showed that for New South Wales consumption of manufactured or tailor made cigarettes rose from 10 percent of total tobacco consumption in 1901 to 29.7 percent in 1920-21, and was still 29.7 percent in 1929; the figure dropped to 23 percent in the depths of depression in 1933-34 and rose again to 27.5 in 1936-37. This doesn't take account of roll your own cigarettes which began to increase between 1901 and 1921 but did not attract much media and statistical attention until the 1930s. The 1937-38 *Year Book* noted: "That this practice has been widely adopted by consumers in recent years is indicated by the records of the Trade and Customs Department, which show that duty was paid in Australia on more than 100 million packets of 60 papers in 1937-38, compared to 55 million in 1932-33." This roll-your-own phenomenon seems to have been entirely responsible for the increase in tobacco consumption of about .30 lb per head occurring from 1932-33 to 1936-37 to 2.98 lb.[498]

The rise of the cigarette (both roll-your own and tailor made) in the interwar period and through to the 1950s also throws doubt on the suggestion that smoking patterns were successfully manipulated by the trade. Although it has sometimes been claimed that cigarettes grew in popularity because they were seen to be healthier than pipes, there is little

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[497] K. Saunders and R. Evans, *Gender Relations in Australia* (Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992), is representative. Masculinism denotes the ideology and behaviour of male dominance, but the concept is not more clearly defined than this. See esp. p. 206.

[498] *The Official Year Book of New South Wales, 1936-37* (Sydney, Government Printer, 1938), pp. 229-30; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales, 1937-38* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1939), p. 242.

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evidence that either the public believed this argument or manufacturers pushed the idea. I have found very few statements in the trade papers pushing cigarettes as an alternative to pipes. In fact, the structure of the trade in which tobacconists had a strong vested interest in pipe tobacco meant that the trade really seemed to responded to changes in demand, and fought something of an (unsuccessful) rear-guard action itself against the rise of the cigarettes. The major part of the cigarette market prior to the 1920s was imported, and women's cigarettes conformed to this pattern. The British Tobacco company did not market to women until its commercial dominance appeared under threat from Godfrey Phillips and other English firms in the 1920s and then from Carreras in the early 1930s. These firms were prepared to advertise imported cigarettes, discreetly, to women. The resistance of tobacconists was, however, stronger than that of the manufacturers attracted to the profits from valued added goods like the cigarette. Most tobacconists remained firmly committed to the idea that smoking was part of masculine culture. They took pride in their knowledge of pipe tobaccos, the advice they could give to customers who were implicitly assumed to be male, and lamented the sale of cigarettes in newer outlets like corner shops and even vending machines. Until 1929, the pipe continued to control nearly half of the Australian tobacco market and so constituted an important part of smoking behaviour long after it had ceased to do so in Britain.

The user of the pipe was in Australia always male in white society (aboriginal women are the exception that, because of their racial difference and supposed inferiority, confirms the rule). The pipe, was, as *People* magazine put it, "a symbol of virility" with "an irresistible appeal to men and women" as "a kind of signpost for all the virtues of masculinity."[499] Males, particularly single males, outdoor workers, itinerants, and so on, seem to have found the pipe, especially the old and unpretentious clay pipe, a bond of masculinity in colonial and early federation Australia. "Cherrywood" in the *Argus* noted that "It would be difficult to find a larger and more democratic brotherhood than those who find solace and distraction in the smoking of tobacco." At the same time that the pipe promoted the group solidarit of "the brotherhood" of smokers, it also allowed for individuality. "Cherrywood" observed that men had "queer tastes in pipes." Because "it reflects the personality of its owner far more than is imagined," the choice of a pipe was all important. "The pipe should suit the man."[500] Long-stemmed churchwardens, short-stemmed alternatives, clay or briar, the latter carved in a myriad of ways, all these along with the infinite variety of tobacco blends, could distinguish the individual smoker while he remained part of the collective experience of masculine smoking.

Novelists, too, recognised in social life the masculinity attached to the pipe in nineteenth century Australia. Ethel Turner's novels are representative

499 *People*, 28 July 1954, p. 13.
500 "Cherrywood," in *Argus*, reprinted in *N.S.W. Hairdresser and Tobacconist*, 30 June 1929, p. 5.

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of taste and trends in this respect. Pip, introduced to station life in *Seven Little Australians* (1894) sought to imitate the old aboriginal stockman. He "thought if only he could have a black evil-looking pipe like Tettawonga and the rest of the men his happiness would be complete and his manhood attained."[501] In Turner's *A White Roof-Tree* (1906), pipe tobacco is described as one of the "manly things." The young female character Edna tries smoking a pipe herself and is chastised, "for no one could deny that every boy, who was worth anything, had at some time or other made the trial of smoking," but it was absolutely forbidden to girls.[502]

Relationships between pipe smokers and women were sometimes antagonistic because of the smell of the pipe. Women found pipes foul and stinking, as in the case of some of Turner's female characters. The headmistress in *A White Roof-Tree* didn't like her husband's ("the Captain's") pipe smoking: "[H]ow unutterably sick his tobacco smoke made her." Edna, the young heroine chastised in same story for smoking said she would rather have tried "with nice clean cigarettes," but only the pipe was available. Men could, however, be more intolerant in defence of their habit than women in objecting to it. A well-known Sydney man told "an Ex-Smoker" in *Australasian Pharmaceutical Notes and News*: "You know, my wife used to object to my smoking, but I broke her in, and now she does not mind it a bit." The writer soon after met the wife, and was told "I hate it, it makes me sick, but for the sake of peace and quietness, I will not quarrel with my husband over it."[503] The etiquette books advised women not to fight with a man and drive him out because of his pipe,[504] but tensions over this issue remained into the 1920s at least. As part of a description of the division of the sexes in the 1920s, D.H. Lawrence described in *Kangaroo* a football match between Mullumbimby and Wollondilly in which the men "stood . . . in their best clothes smoking pipes" quite separate from the non-smoking women.[505] Pipe smoking was not just a question of masculinity, but associated with a pronounced segregation of the sexes in social life.

The fall of the pipe had less to do with the marketing of tailor-made cigarettes (which as we have seen were not a conspicuous success in the 1920s and 1930s) than with changes in social life. According to most observers, pipe smoking was more strongly characteristic of a rural and small-town Australia in the early twentieth century than of the larger cities. *The Australasian Tobacco Journal*'s "Types of Australian Tobacco Lovers" began with the itinerant pipe smoker. "There is little need of any apology for giving first place to Australia's characteristic type. In his long and weary tramps his best mate is his pipe, and many an unwritten

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501 Turner, *Seven Little Australians*, p. 158.
502 Ethel Turner, *A White Roof-Tree* (London: Ward, Lock, and Co., 1906), pp. 196, 216, 217, 202.
503 *Australasian Pharmaceutical Notes and News*, 1 May 1913, p. 15.
504 *Men, and How to Manage Them*, p. 24.
505 Quoted Rosemary Campbell, *Heroes and Lovers*, p. 70.

Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/zqhl0000

tragedy is undergone by Bluey when short of smoking mixture."[506] The other pipe-smoking image, also rural, was of the pipe aficionado as the man of sociability: "The Man with a Yarn" who cannot sit around a camp fire telling stories to his mates "without his pipeful."[507] These archetypal images were inappropriate to city life and to much of the expanding urban populations of Australia. There the social situations which promoted or at least allowed the leisurely smoking patterns of the pipe gradually disappeared. Said the *N.S.W. Hairdresser and Tobacconist*: "there are so many things to come between the smoker and the full enjoyment of his smoke" in the city.[508] The rise of the cigarette was closely tied to this process of urbanisation. The pipe was, said Cherrywood in the *Argus*, the "perfect companion" for the single man along "especially in the bush."[509] In the city, a premium was placed upon time. The cigarette could be more easily lit and its mildness allowed inhalation and hence easier absorption of nicotine. This made the cigarette a potent way of delivering nicotine which was at the basis of the smoker's enjoyment of the product.[510] Defenders of the pipe criticised the "insidious" character of the cigarette's appeal, and implicitly conceded at the same time how difficult that appeal was to overcome under the conditions of modern urban life.[511]

This did not mean, however, that the pipe smoker shifted over to tailor mades. The masculine pipe smoker could not, as one put it in oral testimony, "be caught dead with a tailor made."[512] Moreover, many of the same rural people who smoked pipes found roll-your-owns useful for the same reasons. They were economical, and more convenient than tailor made cigarettes, especially for men living in isolated regions where access to stores was difficult. When the *Australasian Tobacco Journal* ran its series of three illustrations of characteristic Australian smokers in 1909, the only one that did not involve pipe smoking was "our bored friend. Filling a pipe is too laborious. He wants something easy- so pins his faith to cigarettes." But the cigarette "our bored friend" is shown smoking is a roll-your-own.[513]

Advertising had little or no role to play in this shift from pipes to roll-your-owns. The trade was generally dismissive or hostile to roll-your-owns, and the craze preceded widespread advertising for cigarettes. This is shown by the early appearance of the roll-your-own phenomenon. C.E.W. Bean's *On the Wool Track*,[514] noted a Cornishman in the outback in 1909 "engaged in something even more interesting than a discussion of wet sheep."

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506 *Australasian Tobacco Journal*, 30 April 1909, p. 17.
507 Ibid.; for recognition of "the sociability of a good pipe", see *N.S.W. Hairdresser and Tobacconist*, 29 November 1926, p. 12.
508 *N.S.W. Hairdresser and Tobacconist*, 30 June 1929, p. 5.
509 Ibid.
510 Walker, *Under Fire*, p. 57.
511 *Australasian Tobacco Journal*, 31 May 1909.
512 Oral History Testimony, P. O'Farrell, 1994.
513 *Australasian Tobacco Journal*, 31 May 1909.
514 *On the Wool Track* (London: Alston Rivers, 1910), pp. 184-85.

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Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/zqhl0000

> He was tearing off the corner of a daily paper, and the farmer was watching him. Then he borrowed the farmer's tobacco pouch, took a fill, rolled it out thoughtfully in his two palms. Shearers are generally rolling plug. But this one was rolling it out, not packing it. Finally he roughly squared off a bit of newspaper the size of his hand, wrapped it cigarette-wise around the tobacco, licked it to make it stick, and put it in his mouth, and began to smoke the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

As R.B. Walker comments, "It seems . . . that the Australian liking for hand-made cigarettes originated before manufacturers exploited it as a market."[515]

In fact, this roll-your-own phenomenon can be documented even further back, in the 1890s. The *Australian Wine, Spirit and Tobacco News* advertised "cigarette tobacco" as early as 1898, though these announcements took up only a small proportion (no more than one twelfth of the space) of the few tobacconists' ads that specifically mentioned the product.[516] According to the *Australian Wine, Spirit and Tobacco News*, "a sort of boom in the make-your-own cigarette fad" could be detected. The journal observed: "Some people argue that by making the little rolls themselves they are prevented from smoking as many as they otherwise would because of the time and labour it requires to make them up. Others have that strange hallucination about manufactured cigarettes being drugged, but the greater number adopt the practice because they have seen someone else doing it."[517]

The last named reason was indeed probably the most important, but it is necessary to add that the "somebody else" was invariably male. The badge of masculinity associated with the pipe became transferred to the process of making one's own cigarette. The masculinisation of the cigarette, a product dogged at first by intimations of effeminacy and juvenile delinquency, proceeded through the adoption of the roll-your-own. The connection was powerful in the working class. Jack Meredith, in George Johnston's memoir of the inter-war period, *My Brother Jack* gives up tailor made cigarettes which he considers effete. His macho image is clear in a scene in the 1920s where he visits Sam Burlington, a friend of his brother David, the narrator: "He crossed his legs more comfortably and took out his tobacco tin and his Zig-Zag papers and began to roll a cigarette. 'If he turns out to be another of these poofter friends of yours I wouldn't let you stay here for all the tea in China.' He licked his cigarette, twirled it in his fingers, bit off the loose shreds of tobacco, and spat them on the floor."[518]

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515 *Under Fire*, p. 64.
516 *Australian Wine, Spirit &Tobacco News*, 17 December 1898, p. 45, 16 June 1898, p. 48.
517 Ibid., 17 November 1898, p. 42.
518 George Johnston, *My Brother Jack* (Sydney: Collins, 1964), p. 107.

Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/zqhl0000

Frank Hardy was another novelist who gave an insight into the adoption of the roll-your own-cigarettes by the male worker. In *It's Moments Like These*, the macho communist Darky "took a tobacco tin from his hip pocket and rolled himself a smoke with sharp, savage movements."[519] The image was obviously important to Hardy's construction of the character, since the image is repeated. Women were not totally excluded from the ritual. Kylie Tennant in *The Battlers* (1941) shows that this practice could include women of the lower classes. Miss Dora Phipps "rolled a cigarette of Snow's tobacco, inserted it in a long, imitation amber holder, clamped this between her teeth, and wiggled it thoughtfully like some weird proboscis . . ."[520] Yet the character Dora is not favourably drawn, and though Dora smokes her roll-your-own, she does so with a holder. In any case, there are few references of this type in the available literature, and it seems that the practice was, mostly, aggressively masculine.

If the middle class wanted to communicate with the workers, they had to learn the same ritual. Kylie Tennant's sympathetically portrayed church rector, Bill Sorrell, learns to roll "the clumsily fashioned cigarettes" tending to the unemployed and sick in *The Battlers*.[521] Similarly women learned to love or respect men who rolled their own. Tennant's character Jessica found that "the comfortable male warmth and the smell of tobacco made her feel cosy" when a male, Paul, put his coat around her.[522]

The roll-your-own was also in part a product of necessity, born of the depression and perpetuated by rationing during World War Two. Roll-your-owns involved a considerable amount of scrounging for cigarette butts. Tennant documents this in her novel *Tiburon* for the depression era battlers, as does George Johnston for working-class Melbourne in the 1920s[523] and Unice Atwell does the same in her memoir of Queensland provincial town life for the 1940s. Atwell recalls her father's wartime behaviour:

> Cigarettes and tobacco were never formally rationed. They just became very hard, at times all but impossible, to get. My father, a very heavy smoker who rolled his own, became adept at making very thin cigarettes and smoking them until there was hardly anything left to hold. Even then he saved the 'dumpers' in a spare tobacco tin. When his sparse tobacco supplies failed he would roll it into new cigarettes . . .[524]

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519 Frank Hardy, *It's Moments Like These* (Melbourne: Gold Star Publications, 1972), pp. 68, 211. Hardy also comments elsewhere that when Darky lit his first cigarette in the morning, "He walked about the yard, coughing now and then as smokers do in the day's first hour." (p. 218).

520 Tennant, *The Battlers*, p. 100.

521 Ibid., pp. 265-66.

522 Ibid., p. 196.

523 Tennant, *Tiburon* (Sydney: The Bulletin, 1935), p.25; Johnston, *My Brother Jack*, pp. 56, 57.

524 Unice Atwell, *Growing up in the 40s* (Brisbane: Kangaroo Press, 1983), p. 48.

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Economy notwithstanding, some observers reported smokers choosing to make their own cigarettes because they were thought to be healthier. Modern medical researchers have sometimes speculated, too, that the type of smoking, with much less in the form of manufactured cigarettes, has been responsible for the lower rates of lung cancer in Australia. L.A. Elson, writing on " Lung cancer risks of smoking in Britain and the Antipodes," argued that the lower rate of lung cancer in Australia and New Zealand compared to Britain "may be partially accounted for by the fact that for the period 1920-1970, 80% of the tobacco consumed in Britain has been in the form of manufactured cigarettes compared to 50 percent in Australia and New Zealand."[525] Certainly roll-your-owns did not entail smoking through cigarette filters, which some smokers argue are "more poisonous" than the tobacco.[526] It would be interesting to investigate through oral history accounts how much opinions of this type influenced the choice of roll-your-owns. The "strange hallucination about manufactured cigarettes being drugged," noted by turn-of-the-century trade journals remains part of smoking lore today, just as other smokers did in fact believe they could cut down on the amount they smoked—and so control their habit—by the tedium of preparation in the hand-rolled variety, "because of the time and labour it requires to make them up."[527]

On the other hand, many novelists—a major source on the etiquette of roll-your-owns—refer constantly to the foul smelling tobacco involved in both pipes and roll-your-owns, and imply that the product was less healthy than the "clean" smoke of the factory made cigarette. Tennant's *Battlers* is typical. A woman "had demanded a two-ounce tin of the cheap, strong weed that, from the taste, might be anything from horse-dung to dried rope."[528] In the labour camps in her novel *Tiburon*, where hand-rolled cigarettes prevailed, "There was a mingled smell of tobacco, ill-fed humanity and damp clothing." [529] These novelists do not convey the impression that one would choose roll-your-owns for health reasons. Similarly, Unice Atwell described her father's scrounged mixture of cigarette butts and leftovers as having "smelt even more frightful than his normal variety."[530]

b. Smoking Patterns and the Learned Behaviour of Smoking

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[525] LA Elson/TE Betts et al, "Lung cancer risks of smoking in Britain and the Antipodes," *Carcinogenesis* 2 (no. 2, 1981): 161-62, as cited in Edith Falk, *Smoking Control in Australia since 1975: An Annotated Bibliography* (Sydney: Health Commission of New South Wales, 1982), p. 24.

[526] Oral History Testimony, G. Burnett.

[527] *Australian Wine, Spirit & Tobacco News*, 17 November 1898, p. 42.

[528] Tennant, *The Battlers*, p. 31.

[529] Tennant, *Tiburon*, describes the scavengers for tobacco in a camp of unemployed in the NSW west: "There was a mingled smell of tobacco, ill-fed humanity and damp clothing" in the camp (p. 25).

[530] Atwell, *Growing up in the 40s*, p. 48.

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In summary, then, it seems that smoking behaviour was highly structured; it was the outcome of several factors: these included rational choice behaviours such as individual preference concerning the most convenient, economical, and least dangerous form of smoking. But more fundamentally, smoking behaviour reflected patterns of sociability that were learned or imitated. When custom favoured the solitary life or purely male companionship as in late nineteenth century Australia, the stronger pipe smoke prevailed; when challenged by cigarettes, smokers responded by shifting to their own adaptation of the cigarette in the form of the roll-your-own. They thereby retained their masculine culture and indeed defended it against the effeminate image of the tailor-made cigarette. This concept involves the idea of a smoking culture as learned behaviour that fulfils certain social functions making for group solidarity. Little social research was done on this in early twentieth century Australia, but the idea is consistent with British sociological and anthropological research done by the Mass Observation team in the late 1930s and with historian Jordan Goodman's notion of a culture of dependence surrounding the growth of the tobacco industry.[531]

Whether they smoked roll-your-owns or tailor made, smokers were not born, but made. They learned the activity, sometimes unpleasantly, and often determinedly. Hal Porter, in *The Paper Chase* learnt to tap the ash from cigarette butts, flick matches into the spittoon and other "blokely details" as a young man in a Willamstown, Victoria pub around 1931. Learning to smoke as a young man was also part of the self image of Donald Horne, told in *The Education of Young Donald*. As a student and would-be writer, Horne cultivated an image with "cigarette in mouth." In second year university, he didn't mind others buying him a drink, "but honour now seemed to demand that I should always carry my own cigarettes." Women's smoking, however, was a more novel and controversial thing, Horne reported.[532] Porter and Horne were people destined to be well-known literary figures in Australian life, but ordinary Australians were similarly affected. Bruce Scott, an addicted smoker and returned soldier told in 1948 how the desire to grow up and be manly lay behind his conscious adoption of the smoking habit. He did not at first smoke because he liked tobacco, and could see no point in smoking when there was "no audience." Rather:

> I come of a long line of smoke-swallowers . . . so that when I was 18 it was only natural that neither parent quibbled when I expressed a desire to conform. They even encouraged me. The acquisition of the habit was . . . to me, one of the signs of the change from adolescent to manhood. I started to smoke, not because I needed it, but because it

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[531] Charles Madge and Tom Harrison, *First Year's Work 1937-38 by Mass Observation* (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1938), pp. 14-15; Goodman, *Tobacco in History:*, passim.
[532] Hal Porter, *The Paper Chase* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1966), p. 39; Donald Horne, *The Education of Young Donald* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1967), pp. 250, 255, 256, 326, 270.

Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/zqhl0000

> We had filed up into position, spread out and lain down in the desert . . . I must have been whimpering to myself - I know I was wondering if I would ever see tomorrow's night sky - because the soldier on my right shuffled up and said, "Come on son. Have a drag . . . He rolled a cigarette, licked it, cupped his hands and lit it, then thrust it into my mouth. I will never forget his kindness. Between spluttering and trying to smoke, I forgot my self-pity. I've been smoking ever since.[537]

Tobacco, difficult to obtain as part of civilian life from 1940 to 1945 was part of the military ration. Non-smokers experienced increased pressure to smoke in the military. It was difficult for them to resist, especially if they were prisoners of war, since the army medical staffs encouraged men to smoke in order to assuage "the pangs of terrible hunger." One soldier recalled the worst thing about his military experience: "Breakfasts, usually doubtful, and sometimes only a soldier's breakfast - a cigarette and a piss. (Being a non-smoker I was down by 50 per cent.)"[538] Tobacco became an important part of the culture of the soldier, reflected in the literature of army journals. In the second world war, the official journal of the 2/18th Battalion, 8th Division of the AIF was called "Men May Smoke." As in World War One, soldiers' comfort funds included tobacco.[539]

Under war-time conditions, many troops and civilians were for the first time introduced to American tailor-made cigarettes, which they judged to be superior to those cigarettes commonly smoked in Australia in the 1930s.[540] Though they had to turn back to roll-your-owns in 1945 on discharge, they had acquired a taste for the superior product which would surface again in the 1950s when more money, and larger numbers of cigarettes manufactured, allowed the tailor-made product to eclipse the roll-your-own phenomenon. This new, acquired taste also affected civilians, short of tobacco themselves because of rationing. During the war, the Americans were entitled to such luxury goods as cigarettes duty free and these "abundant supplies of American ready-rolled cigarettes " at the American PX's "appeared like oases in the tobacco desert". A black market in cigarettes arose around illegally obtained American supplies, but the possession of cigarettes also made the American soldiers more attractive to Australian women. Maureen Meadows, a typist for the Americans in Brisbane reminisced, "I loved their looks and their ways and the casual manner in which they gave away so generously of their cigarette ration."[541] Schoolchildren also "harassed the Americans continually for money and cigarettes".

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537 Barrett, *We were There*, p. 3.
538 Barrett, *We were There*, p. 190.
539 *Men May Smoke*, vol. 1, no. 1, December 1940; no. 7, October 1941, no. pag.
540 K. Payne and T. Soldi, Oral History Testimony, 1994.
541 Rosemary Campbell, *Heroes and Lovers: A Question of National Identity* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989), pp. 151, 62, 169, 175, 176, 164.

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The impact of war has been recognised in the health debate since 1970. Many smokers have attributed their later illnesses to smoking taken up during World War Two. James Law, who died of lung cancer in 1976 was a non-smoker who took up smoking during the war. The High Court upheld the right of Mrs. Law to a war widow's pension on the ground that his disease and death might have been attributed to smoking incited by war service conditions. In 1981, a Mrs Mary McGlynn pursued a similar action and her appeal was also upheld.[542]

d. Ethnicity and Smoking Culture

Not only did these learned and imitated gender differences in smoking exist; ethnic differences must also be taken into account in the shaping of group experiences. Prior to 1945, most Australian migrants came from the British Isles. Australia was, as the eminent historian Sir Keith Hancock observed, 98 per cent British. While Australian smoking patterns had taken on their own distinctive appearance, the point remains that Australian smoking was derived, however distantly, from British, and particularly working-class behaviour. European, that is "continental", smoking preferences hardly entered the picture. The great patterns of post-World War Two migration introduced continental European styles of smoking. In any survey of the 1950s and 1960s, the existence of widespread smoking in the home countries such as Greece, Italy, and Germany, needs to be taken into account. Advertisements in the ethnic press appealed to pipe and cigar smoking as far back as the time of early Italian migration in the 1920s, for example, but the possibility of continental European influence on smoking patterns was remote until the 1950s. Little, however, is known about these earlier smoking patterns among non-English speaking migrants. We must turn to recent sociological and medical literature for more detail. Surveys done since the 1960s show quite pronounced differences between different ethnic groups, and between migrants and Australian-born, with migrants both more likely to smoke and more likely to die of lung cancer than native born. A 1986 survey showed European migrant males and British migrant males smoked significantly more than Australian born. "Men who were born in continental Europe had the highest prevalence of smoking" at 39.7 percent compared to 32.6 for Australian born, but European women were not different from Australian women.[543] One way of pursuing this matter of smoking and ethnicity again would be oral history, another would be literature from the 1950s, such as reflected in such novels as John O'Grady's *They're a Weird Mob*.

Race is a different matter. Here pronounced differences in smoking behaviour existed in the nineteenth century and have persisted since.

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[542] Walker, *Under Fire*, p. 69; *Australian*, 15 December 1981; also Oral Testimony, T. Soldi, 1994.

[543] *Bulletin*, 14 April 1962, p. 34; D.J. Hill, "Australian patterns of tobacco smoking in 1986," *MJA*, 4 July 1988, pp. 6-10. The figures for Asian males of 16.3 percent is not believable. It was based on a very small sample and requires further research.

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These can be quite easily delineated for the pre-1950 period. Aboriginals are commonly depicted as smokers, but their patterns of smoking were rather different from those of whites. Some attention has been given to the existence of native tobacco plants which the aboriginal people are thought to have used for chewing even prior to the arrival of the Europeans. J. Burton Cleland, the prominent Adelaide physician and scientist, reported in the 1930s "the discovery, quite independently, by the natives of Central Australia and by the natives of the more central parts of the two Americas, of the use for narcotic purposes of species of *Nicotiana*. By both the drug has been much sought after," Cleland observed. He continued: "Amongst the Central Australian natives the part played by this true tobacco is one of importance, though it does not enter in to any ritual, nor is it responsible for political controversy. This may possibly suggest that its use is comparatively recent, and does not date back into the mythological past."[544] Both true nicotine plants and *Duboisia* were used in different regions. From these, central Australian aboriginals took the dried stems and leaves to produce a substance known as Pituri. An economic botanist, Colin Barnard, has also commented upon indigenous people's use of nicotine prior to white settlement and reviewed the extensive nineteenth century literature on this problem. Early explorers, says Barnard, observed aboriginals chewing a native plant, *Duboisia Hopwoodi*: "by 1882 a fairly clear picture seems to have been obtained of the use of this plant by the natives as a narcotic, and the very interesting fact had been learned that an extensive trade existed between tribes on the basis of the drug."[545] Whites concluded, as did one informant of Professor Liversidge, cited by Barnard, that "The effects of the pituri seem from all accounts to be very much the same as that set up by tobacco smoking; it does not appear to have the exciting effect upon the blacks with which it was at one time credited. As is the case with other luxuries, it is reserved for the older men for their use exclusively, neither women nor young men being allowed to use it."[546] This indicates that the chewing of native tobacco did have some importance within the rituals of the aboriginal culture of central and western Australia prior to white settlement.

However, most aboriginal tobacco use derived from early contact with the white settlers. Ethnologists have not recorded aboriginals smoking the leaves of the native plants, only the chewing of them.[547] Extensive smoking of pipe tobacco followed on from the growing dependence of aboriginals on whites for provisions, and the development of symbiotic links in sexual relations and labour exchange. Aboriginal men, particularly

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[544] J. Burton Cleland, "The Native of Central Australia and his Surroundings," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Soc. of A'Asia, South Australian Branch*, vol. xxxv, session 1933-34, 77-81, quotes at pp. 79-80.

[545] Colin Barnard, "The Duboisias of Australia," *Economic Botany* vol. 6 (Jan.-Mar. 1952): 10.

[546] Ibid, p. 10.

[547] Barnard discounted one report which stated that *Duboisia* was "highly prized by the natives who smoked it." Barnard says that "This statement would seem to be an error, and Dr. McMillan probably meant chewed, not smoked." Barnard, "The Duboisias of Australia," pp. 8, 10.

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stockman working in the outback, received tobacco as part of their rations and enjoyed smoked pipes.[548] "The missionaries," says historian Henry Reynolds, "were important as a source of desired European commodities like steel axes, flour and especially tobacco."[549] Aboriginal women appear to have smoked very commonly, far more so than white women, and their forms of smoking differed. Caricatures of aboriginal women frequently depicted them as pipe smokers.[550] Aboriginal women also chewed tobacco. Aeneas Gunn's *The Little Black Princess*[551] includes references to both habits. In dealing with her aboriginal helper, Bett-Bett, "the hardest work of all" for the lady of the station "was to stop her from chewing tobacco."[552] Cartoon images also showed aboriginal women (and men) as figures of fun in which their smoking habits were primitive and disgusting and in need of reform.[553] Nevertheless, whites provided the rations because the latter were important to preserving order and working relationships. Aboriginals were especially important in the cattle industry as stockman in outback Australia, and like the custom of smokos, provision of a tobacco allowance was part of the give and take involved in running the industry. Whites also conceded the importance of tobacco as part of aboriginal culture by the concession operating in regard to duties on tobacco. A special grade of tobacco sold in the Northern Territory from the 1930s to 1970s was subject to a lower rate of duty than that applicable to whites. This lower grades of tobacco produced was known derisively by whites as "boong twist". According to R.B. Walker, it was usually "made from Australian leaf such as was generally smoked by white bushmen in the nineteenth century."[554] The leaf had long gone out of fashion among whites, but its use continued among the native population.

These aboriginal smoking patterns have persisted. Of all the regions surveyed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 1986, "the Northern Territory had the highest overall levels of smoking. In 1986, 46% of males and 33% of females . . . in urban areas reported being current smokers . . . The extraordinary smoking patterns of the Northern Territory may be explained in part by the Territory's unique demographic structure which has a high proportion of young persons, Aborigines and transients."[555]

e. Work and Leisure

Tobacco was also woven into the work experience. Doctors observed that while tobacco use could cause medical problems, its provision was important wherever men did arduous outdoor work which might

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548 Turner, *Seven Little Australians*, pp. 146-47, 150.
549 Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (Ringwood: Penguin Books, 1983, c. 1981, 1982), p. 189.
550 Saunders and Evans, *Gender Relations in Australia*, pp. 51, 54, 56.
551 *The Little Black Princess: A True Tale of Life in the Never-Never Land* (London: Alexander Morring, 1906), p. 90.
552 Ibid., p. 19.
553 Saunders and Evans, *Gender Relations in Australia*, pp. 51, 54, 56.
554 Walker, *Under Fire*, p. 17.
555 *Tobacco in Australia*, p. 5.

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involve hunger or cold. As one Sydney surgeon put it: "Tobacco to them may be even useful, by offering to them in extreme hardships and difficulties a soothing and agreeable pastime." In contrast, alcoholic liquors such "spirits might unfit them for their duties" as labourers, sailors or other outdoor workers.[556] This concession concerning outdoor work derived from English experience, but it applied in Australia as well, according to many observers. Especially in the country regions, tobacco quickly attained the status of a necessity. The Royal Navy Surgeon, Peter Cunningham, in his *Two Years in New South Wales* (1827) reported a bright future for the tobacco industry because, "as all the lower classes are determined smokers, there is consequently an immense consumption."[557] Ethel Turner noted in *Seven Little Australians* that rations for the station hands included tobacco.[558] Smoking became ritualised among workers during the same period through their social institutions, like pubs where smoking went hand in hand with drinking, but also on the job through the smoko. Men negotiated this work practice in the late nineteenth century without substantial opposition from employers because the break was considered important to preserving good labour relations. When men controlled their own work practices as they did in the small cooperative village settlement schemes of the 1890s, one of the things they insisted on was a tobacco ration, and another was time off for smoking. Novelist Ernestine Hill reports in her history of irrigation, that in the Village Cooperative settlements along the Murray River, "an eight hours' day was to be religiously observed, with morning and afternoon smoko, and an hour for lunch. Tobacco was procurable on the ration tickets."[559] Smokos became part of the process of labour solidarity, says Hill: "Smokoes became the meetings of secret societies out in the bush, planning rebellion, denying and defying authority."

"That working men smoked pipes a lot is beyond dispute," concludes historian R.B. Walker.[560] When tobacco duties were first imposed in an Australian colony, in Victoria, in the early 1880s, speaker after speaker in the parliamentary debates referred to tobacco and beer in such terms as "consumed by a large portion of the population." Some called tobacco a "luxury" but most regarded it as an essential item of consumption for the labouring classes. "Tobacco was a necessity to working men," one member claimed, adding that "there was many a working man who would rather go without food than without his smokes." Still another had referred to "the working miner, who was sufficiently taxed already, that he should be made to feel that the beer and tobacco which he indulged in, after working eight hours in a wet shaft, were both subject to taxation."[561] The worker's smoke referred to in these debates was pipe tobacco, not cigarettes.

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556 *Australian Snake Bites: Their Treatment and Cure/ The Use and Abuse of Tobacco by Dr. Berncastle* (Melbourne: Mason, Firth and Co., 1868), p. 27.
557 Peter Cunningham, *Two Years in New South Wales* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1966), p. 132.
558 Turner, *Seven Little Australians*, p. 150.
559 *Water into Gold* (Melbourne: Robertson and Mullins, 1937), pp. 155, 156.
560 Walker, *Under Fire*, p. 5.
561 *VPD*, 22 November 1881, pp. 809, 811.

Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/zqhl0000

Workingmen's publications like the *Railway and Tramway Record* did not advertise cigarettes at the turn of the century, but did have abundant advertising for pipes.[562]

If tobacco was woven into masculine work patterns, it was equally true that smoking was important as part of leisure. Smokers' lounges that were "quite London style" emerged in the largest cities around the turn of the century for the better class of smoker who did not want to frequent a pub, still the major place for smoking in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Smokers' lounges also became an integral part of theatres.[563] Along with the pub, the ubiquitous smoke concerts of the first forty years of the twentieth century enabled males to laugh, drink, sing, tell risque stories, and smoke without the inhibitions presented by female objections to pipe and cigar smoking.[564] For all that, smoke concerts had very respectable aspects too. They became so much part of the culture that hospitals and public health departments came to hold them.[565] The Tobacco Trade Travellers promoted their own concept of respectability and social service through their annual smoke concerts in the 1920s where the proceeded were donated towards "a most worthy object", the New South Wales "Cancer Research Fund."[566] Much earlier, the Pharmaceutical Society of New South Wales's newly inaugurated smoke concert featured in 1900 "a plentiful supply of 'churchwardens' and tobacco, generously donated by the town travellers of the wholesale drug houses." The concert was praised as a great success which had drawn in far more members than functions in previous years when no such smoke social had been held. Though much drinking and smoking had taken place, the *Chemist and Druggist of Australasia* was concerned to emphasise the respectability of the occasion:

> a man's condition at a smoke concert can generally be gauged the following morning when he counts the number of pieces in which his "long clay" went home with him, and it is but due to the cause of pharmacy to state that whatever happened to the tobacco, the majority of the churchwardens in that very representative gathering were carried away intact.[567]

In addition to smoke concerts, another important masculine smoking site conveniently segregated from women was the club. Rosman's handmade cigarettes advertised that they were made "for Connoisseurs". Their discriminating customers included City Tattersall's Club, the Australian

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562 *Railway and Tramway Record*, 15 April 1908, p. 29.
563 *Barlow&Armatage's Wine, Spirit& Tobacco Trades Circular*, 15 April 1898, p. 43.
564 Walker, *Under Fire*, p. 32.
565 These continued through to the 1950s. See "Department of Public Health. Diggers' Smoko," *The Lamp*, November 1951, p. iii; Callan Park Smoko reported in ibid., December 1950, p. 7.
566 *N.S.W. Hairdresser and Tobacconist*, 31 August 1926, p. 11; *Royal Prince Alfred Hospital Gazette*, 31 October 1922, p. 1.
567 *Chemist and Druggist of Australasia*, 2 July 1900, p. 179.

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Golf Club, the Masonic Club, the Public Service Association, and the Warwick and Longreach Clubs in Queensland.[568] Specialist men's retail shops also sought to cultivate the club-like atmosphere by providing rooms for smoking, as did the exclusive Peapes and Co. Men's and Boys' Outfitters which set aside a Pepys Room for "conferences, resting, reading, smoking or for keeping appointments with friends."[569]

Tobacco shops were the other and more democratic masculine retreat within the largely female world of shopping. This point was emphasised by the connection between tobacco outlets and such trades as male hairdressers and sporting goods retailers. Mick Simmons's "noted and widely represented" tobacconist firm also dealt in "sports goods, and all kinds of fancy goods, toys, firearms, and particularly fishing tackle." It had a "first-class name throughout N. S. Wales, and even beyond."[570] Simmons's shops served the mature pipe and cigars smokers at the turn of the century, but also offered other services and enticements to its customers than the variety of its tobaccos. Beverley Kingston has commented in her history of shopping that in the 1920s, "Mick Simmons in the Haymarket set out to attract a younger, more sporty clientele. It . . . had lounges for reading, writing and smoking, a 'hairdressing parlour', and tobacconist, but as well there were a soda fountain, a wireless section and, of course, the sporting goods as well as what sounded like a gymnasium."[571] Except in such specialised stores, "the idea of men as shoppers had never really received the same careful attention as was given to women." But in the case of tailors and tobacconists, men did their own shopping in stores where "personal attention" was "taken for granted." Tobacco shops of this class, then, were not simply places where one bought tobacco, but places of recreation and leisure where related styles of masculine behaviour such as sporting talk could be indulged as much as in a private men's club.

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f. Conclusion

These patterns of work, gender, ethnic identity, military experience and leisure that made up the culture of smoking were far from being immutable. They had changed gradually over the course of the first forty-five years of the century, as cigarettes displaced pipe tobacco, and masculine culture adapted to the new habit by crafting the fashion of roll-your-owns. But another change was going on simultaneously in smoking culture which would set the stage for much greater changes in the 1950s. The enormous attention given to the fact of women's smoking has missed the most important point about gender and smoking: pipe smoking had been a segregated activity while, in contrast, the introduction of tailor-

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568 *The Theatre*, 1 January 1911, p. 4; 1 January 1913.
569 *Royal Prince Alfred Hospital Gazette*, 15 April 1922, p. 13; see also Farmer's "The Store for Men" which offered exclusivity through individually blended tobacco for "the man of cultured taste". *Triad*, 10 June 1922, p. 20.
570 *Australian Tobacco Journal*, 28 April 1905, p. 24.
571 Kingston, *Basket, Bag and Trolley*, p. 49.

Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/zqhl0000

made cigarettes in the 1920s and 1930s on a large scale opened the possibility that men and women could smoke together. This occurred at first only among elite groups such as those to whom the advertisements for luxury cigarettes were directed by tobacco companies in the 1920s. Ads in the 1930s continued to draw upon the theme of mutual smoking pleasure, and sometimes added the suggestion of romance and love to the mutual experience of smoking. By the 1940s, the image of these smoking couples had become considerably democratised. The ads became pitched at a broader constituency. Because of rationing, relatively few ads appeared in daily newspapers, but in the trade papers advertisements appealed more to young men and women to smoke, and associated this practice with pleasurable activities that could be mutually experienced, like a visit to the beach, the race course, or a bicycle outing, or a tennis match. In the 1960s, added to this would be overseas travel as shown in Rothmans and Peter Stuyvesant ads.[572] The stage had been set for the smoking culture of the 1960s, when men and women would be shown using cigarettes as part of the pattern of courtship, romance, and sex. While historical attention has focused on the onset of women smoking as a sign of their individualism and freedom, the new pattern of smoking *between* the sexes was of deeper significance to the cultural acceptance of cigarette smoking, and to the hold the practice of smoking would exert in the decades after 1950.

Cigarette smoking alone could make this social change possible. Pipe smoking odours were, as we have seen, widely detested by women. The introduction of the smoother blended cigarettes of the 1920s not only presented new (and, for the female smoker, presumably more pleasant) opportunities for women to take up and continue smoking; they made it possible for men to smoke in the company of women without offending them. Women expressed a preference for the "clean" smoke of the cigarette over the pipe, not only as part of their preference for their own smoking, but as a preference for the smoking choice of their male relatives and companions.[573] Women, therefore, exerted in the long run a profound influence over male smoking patterns by encouraging them to smoke tailor-mades.

The dominant smoking culture described in this section for the period 1890 to 1950 was thus rather different from that which emerged in the post-World War Two years. The fifties becomes in this analysis therefore a critical link in the shift to contemporary smoking culture. The masculine styles of smoking and the accompanying culture had survived for a very long time. Circumstances such as two world wars, the depression, and the strength of working class behaviour patterns enabled the male smoking culture to adapt to social change and to defy its immediate demise. But by

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[572] See the examples of "We too, smoke Turf" in *Retail Tobacconist*, 10 August 1945, cover, iii; and September 1948, cover, iii; February 1950, cover, iii; *Australian Women's Weekly*, 10 September 1958, p. 27; Walker, *Under Fire*, p. 69; cf. "They both prefer Ardath," *Man*, August 1937; and "De Rezske's" in *Smith's Weekly*, 18 January 1930, p. 25.

[573] Women's preference for a "clean" smoke is expressed as early as Ethel Turner's *A White Roof-Tree* of 1906, p. 216.

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the 1950s the entry of larger numbers of women to the work force in World War Two, and the subsequent arrival in Australia in the 1950s of the mass consumer society first experienced in America in the 1920s helped create new smoking patterns. Smoking by women, which had remained at modest levels in the 1930s rose substantially during and just after the war, reaching 27.5 percent of all women by 1950, and 30 percent by 1962. Mr. K. Ball of W.D. and H.O. Wills (Aust.) recalled in 1962 this dramatic change among women: "they began smoking in the armed forces and in other war-time occupations and their numbers have steadily risen."[574] The health debates that hit the headlines of daily newspapers in the 1950s would thus confront a newly shaped smoking culture, itself vulnerable to attacks from the health lobby. The erosion of the masculine smoking culture could already be seen in the decline of male levels of smoking in the period 1945-1950 from 72 to 69 per cent, as some males realised the consequences of their high levels of wartime smoking and began to quit.[575] This pattern would be accentuated in the 1950s as the male and female rates of smoking began to even up. The impact of the health debate on this smoking culture in the 1950s will be taken up in a subsequent section or report.

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[574] See "Women Made Smoking Rise," *Melbourne Herald*, 22 March 1962.

[575] K. Payne, Oral History Testimony, 1994. Similar patterns emerged in Britain. See for his own experience, V.G. Kiernan, *Tobacco: A History* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1991), p. 2.

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